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that all hope of a real representative body for Prussia was dead before the Teplitz conference in 1819.

Nevertheless the author, who is a defender of Hardenberg, makes the battle between the chancellor and the reactionaries led by Ancillon, Karl of Mecklenburg, Marwitz, Wittgenstein, Albrecht, and Knesebeck seem a very real one, in which Humboldt, who had much the same aims as Hardenberg, really gave the Brutus stab.

In the failure of Frederick William III. to follow the modestly liberal policy of Hardenberg after 1815, and by such timely concessions to set the feet of the Hohenzollern monarchy on the path to modern government, Professor Haake finds the answer to the question as to why the Hohenzollerns no longer rule. Possibly; but without offering a defense of Frederick William III., there is much before and after him that goes to the explanation of such a downfall.

G. S. FORD.

*A History of the Chartist Movement.* By JULIUS WEST, with an Introductory Memoir by J. C. SQUIRE. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1920. Pp. xii, 316. \$4.00.)

THE most valuable contribution of this book to historical literature is that it indicates a state of mind. Studies in the early origins of labor or working-class movements are, at the present time, as fashionable in certain circles as were researches in early Christian lore some few decades ago. The last ten years have witnessed the publication of no less than seven scholarly studies on Chartism, one in German, one in French, and five in English. Of this book it may be said that its principal differentiation from the earlier volumes lies in this fact: it attaches to this abortive protest and muddle-headed revolt even more significance than do its predecessors.

To the late Mr. West, Chartism "made possible (indirectly) the renascent trade-union movement of the fifties, the gradually improving condition of the working classes, the Labour Party, the co-operative movement and whatever greater triumphs labour will enjoy in the future". In consequence, to him, the roster of the names of delegates at the Chartist Convention becomes by implication as important as that of the signers of the Constitution of the United States, and the minutiae of the agricultural experiments of Feargus O'Connor take on as much interest as the diplomacy of the Congress of Vienna.

The reviewer has no right to quarrel with this point of view. He may, however, call attention to this fact: Chartism as a subject for historical research has been overworked. The three doctoral dissertations of Columbia University in 1916, and Hovell's *Chartism*, published in 1918, have covered this particular field fairly well, and he to whom political and industrial democracy still disclose the path toward the Golden Age might well turn his attention to many of the other phases of the labor movement as yet but partially studied.

It is an unfortunate fact that Mr. West was in ignorance of the superb history of Chartism about to be completed by Mr. Hovell until his own book was nearly finished. Had he known of the work of his fellow historian, so abruptly terminated by death in the service of his country, he would doubtless have pursued his researches in a somewhat different direction, much to the enrichment of scholarship and to the furthering of a more complete understanding of industrial and social history. A clearing house for historical scholarship along the lines attempted by M. Solvay of Brussels is most urgently needed if mistakes of this character are to be prevented in the future.

*A History of the Chartist Movement* approaches its subject with a view at once broader and at the same time, to the mind of the reviewer, less sound than the approach of Lieutenant Hovell. Mr. West's introductory emphasis is political, that of his fellow historian economic; he begins his history in 1776 with an account of the agitation for parliamentary reform headed by Major Cartwright. Chartism to him is but one phase, possibly the culminating one, of the radicalism of the late eighteenth and mid-nineteenth centuries, and he skilfully orientates it as such. This, I believe, is largely an illusion. Mr. Roebuck and Major Cartwright were neither socially nor intellectually in the same strata with O'Connor and O'Brien. Their motivation was essentially middle-class, even if they did hold radical views *in re* suffrage reform; and the nexus between Chartism and the new economics, as emphasized by Mr. Hovell, was far closer than that between it and philosophic radicalism.

Both Mr. Hovell and Mr. West have toiled arduously and to good purpose through the great Place manuscript collection in the British Museum. For the convenience of other British historians who contemplate that task it is well to note that the London collection is incomplete, several volumes of the Place collection being in the private library of Professor E. R. A. Seligman of New York. Mr. West has also added still further to our knowledge of the career of Richard Oastler as a Chartist agitator, and admirers of the fearless yet childlike and misguided friend of the English factory children are in his debt for so doing. It is to be hoped that some day a biography of Oastler may appear, and there still remain for the historian, untouched and apparently unknown, in an obscure corner of the British Museum, the incomplete files of his little magazine *The Throne, the Altar, and the Cottage*. Oastler was a Chartist, it is true; but Chartism, I think, may more justly be considered as a side-eddy of the larger and more catholic interests which he and his friends held at heart than as the centre and heart of the tide moving toward social justice and a genuine democracy.

WALTER PHELPS HALL.